

PRESENT CONDITIONS IN CANADA



REMAIN BRITISH
SPEAK ENGLISH



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Queen's University at Kingston

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Present Conditions in Canada.

The people of Canada are greatly indebted to Mr. Robert Sellar, of The Gleaner, of Huntingdon, P.Q., for his courage and sense of duty in giving the public the results of his investigations into the History of Quebec among official documents. This he has done in a little book called "The Tragedy of Quebec." The volume has been virtually prohibited from being published in the Province. So strong is the influence that aims at suppressing the truth, that few booksellers are willing to handle this little volume, and persistent efforts have been made to stop its circulation. Many may question whether the publication was judicious. Will the priests not take advantage of it to consolidate their power with the French-Canadians still more firmly by raising the old cry that their "race is being attacked?"

Mr. Sellar has doubtless weighed all sides of the question. As he says: "Things cannot be made worse than they are, and there is always a chance that they may be made better." Besides, a man of deep convictions, believing that his fellow-men are not in full possession of the truth, dare not keep silence. It would have been much easier for him to have spoken smooth things to the men of his generation, and he says that it would have been pecuniarily more profitable to him to have withheld his views on the subject he discusses. But, like the prophets of old, he had a fire in his bones and he must at all cost deliver the message with which he felt himself entrusted. He has chosen the better part. The mere time-serving politician would not approve of his course; but Mr. Sellar's is the sturdy, well-tried liberalism which leaves consequences to take care of themselves, and insists in speaking out what it believes. All honor to him for his noble effort.

No French-Canadian ought to feel hurt at anything which he here urges. He everywhere shows keen appreciation of the high qualities of the habitant and clearly distinguishes between the people and the Church, whose policy it is to completely dominate them. Nor does he want to interfere with their religion; but he desires them to know the true history of the development of their Church. Even the foremost among the French-Canadians evidently believe what has been so long

falsely taught them, namely, that the Treaty of Paris has guaranteed them their language and laws as well as their religion.

They ought not to be allowed to lie longer under that delusion; but ought to know that the church of Rome in Canada is not entrenched behind a fortress of international obligation. Let them be informed that there is no advantage which it enjoys that it is not competent for the Dominion Parliament to sweep away, and that, if they are disposed, to contend for it, that is their own affair.

Mr. Sellar consented to the issuing of this collection of extracts from "The Tragedy of Quebec" when it was urged that everyone is entitled to know the truth and that the distribution in brief form of the salient points in his volume, would be of immense advantage to the people of Canada, bringing within easy reach of all, the knowledge of the facts relating to the history of our country with which everyone should be acquainted.

Mr. Sellar has brought to his task all the qualities in an author fitted to produce a deep impression; a full knowledge of his subject and strong convictions, set forth in a clear and masterly style. He wields a facile, vigorous and practised pen. There are few specimens among Canadian writings of such terse and eloquent English prose as he has afforded us in this volume. We are fortunate enough to secure the co-operation of a distinguished French-Canadian, who has added a few introductory pages to this collection of extracts. He endorses the position taken by Mr. Sellar and accepts his conclusions regarding the evils which afflict his native Province, and also points out the remedy.

The hordes of monks and nuns expelled from Europe, where they proved the most effective allies of the Vatican (because of the secrecy of their operations) that are swarming into all parts of the Dominion forbode increased efforts to dominate our country in the interests of the Church of Rome.

The earlier part of this century will necessarily continue to be a crucial epoch for the Dominion of Canada. During this formative period certain things must be done. The growth of Canada, its development, not merely from a commercial and material point of view, but intellectually and spiritually, will depend very largely on what is done or left undone by way of solving great and perplexing problems, the magnitude and importance of which are realized only by thoughtful men. If we do not put forth well-directed efforts to make loyal and educated citizens of the people of the Province of Quebec they will become a menace to the state, seriously retarding the growth of the nation and imperilling the stability of our British institutions.

In the Province of Quebec there is also a latent menace to British institutions and the intelligent management of affairs, which is of long

standing. The want of liberal education, general enlightenment and knowledge of the world in this province is really deplorable. It is humiliating to the British-Canadian to feel that the destiny of the Dominion is now under the control of the majority vote, which is in the hands of a people so ignorant as to believe that their sons were in immediate danger of being seized and sent abroad to fight the battles of the British Empire and leave their bones to whiten the ground in Asia and Africa, two regions of which they had only the most hazy notion; also that the bloodthirsty British would use the Canadian Navy to transport their sons to some obscure part of the ocean and drown them wholesale. The free and independent electors of the united counties of Drummond and Arthabasca were so convinced of the truth of these stories that at a recent by-election for the Dominion Parliament the total vote was so completely reversed as to give a majority to the side which had hitherto been in a minority of thousands. Still there was not much room for a choice as to the loyalty of the two parties.

For our own protection and to prevent the name of Canada becoming a reproach and a by-word for ignorance in the sight of the civilized world, some means should be found for making elementary education compulsory. When the British American or Confederation Act was being framed, the late Sir John A. Macdonald was in favor of placing elementary education in all the provinces under the control of the central government, but the friends of ignorance prevented this being done. The world moves, however, and the surrounding civilization will compel the rights of the coming generations of children to be recognized, even in Quebec.*

CANADA UNDER THE FRENCH KINGS.

There are only two men whose names are associated with the settlement of Canada to whom the epithet distinguished can be joined. One was Champlain, the other Frontenac, and both, while most dissimilar in character, were alike in this: the coming of each marked a new era in the destinies of the country.

Champlain's connection with Canada covered a period of twenty-seven years, nigh a generation, yet such trifling progress was made that at the end of these twenty-seven years his enumeration of its settlers gave Quebec a population of only 120, and his estimate of the total number of Frenchmen in New France was only 200. Champlain's attempt to settle the country was a failure, and had it not been for one circumstance the annals of his sojourn would have simply resembled those of any fur-

*A few independent schools have long existed in the Province. One of these, at Point aux Trembles, has been giving a good non-sectarian education for many years, and has proved of such immense advantage that it is now hoped a similar school will be founded near each of the larger towns.

trading company. That circumstance was the Church of Rome making Canada a mission field. Although not the first to come, the Jesuits speedily monopolized the undertaking of the task to bring the Indians within their Church.

The Jesuits had learned the service that can be rendered to any cause by the printing-press, and each year the parent society in France prepared selections from the reports sent by those in charge of the stations and published them, thus anticipating the modern missionary tidings. These reports are tiresome and monotonous narratives, and abound with pious inventions. The object of publishing these reports, or relations, was to induce those who read them to contribute towards carrying on the work.

The Jesuits had carried on their missions for half a century when Frontenac visited their stations, one after another, and became fully acquainted with the Jesuit methods and with their converts. What was his verdict? In a confidential despatch to the court of France he writes: "The Jesuits will not civilize the Indians because they wish to keep them in perpetual wardship. They think more of beaver skins than of souls, and their missions are pure mockeries."

What the Jesuits meant by conversion was baptizing the Pagan. That he understood the rite, or was willing to submit, made no difference. If there was no water at hand, the Jesuit, by moistening his finger at his lips, dotting the outline of a cross on the forehead of the savage, with the muttering of the prescribed formula, held that his act changed the destiny of the Indian from perdition to salvation. The Church was the ark, baptism meant admission into it, and the devotees in Old France were regularly regaled with reports of hundreds of conversions. The religious sentiment of France had been impressed by the narratives of the Jesuits until the transformation of the Indians into Catholics came to be looked on as a sort of crusade, and members of a corrupt court endeavored to compound for their sins by lending their influence to measures for the retention of Canada; enthusiasts of both sexes offered their services, and donations and legacies flowed into the Jesuit treasury, and the King authorized the Jesuits to collect, on market and exchange, a contribution named "God's penny." The kings of France looked on the ordinary settler in two lights, as a customer for the manufacturers of France, and as a unit of the garrison that was to hold Canada for France. As a means of converting the Indians, the Jesuits kept urging young men to marry squaws, offering a dowry as an inducement. Select your bride from the wigwam, was the advice of Bishop Laval to young men.

The clergy dictated the course the governor and his subordinates were to follow, and, on refusal, there was trouble. When a governor was

persistent in rejecting their advice they used their influence at the court of France to secure his recall. No inconsiderable part of the state papers relating to New France concern contentions between the clergy and the governors. Talon, sagacious, cool, politic, did his best to secure the support of the priests in his patriotic policy of trying to make New France self-sustaining, yet, when nearing his departure, he reports to Colbert: "I should have had less trouble and more praise if I had been willing to leave the power of the Church where I found it. It is easy to incur the ill-will of the Jesuits if one does not accept all their opinions and abandon one's self to their direction even in temporal matters, for their encroachments extend to affairs of police, which concern only the civil magistrate." Five years later, after prolonged experience and wide knowledge of the country, Frontenac wrote the same minister: "Nearly all the disorders in New France arise from the ambition of the priests, who want to join to their spiritual authority an absolute power over things temporal, and who persecute all who do not submit entirely to them."

CANADA UNDER BRITISH RULE.

With the coming of the British, the military element of New France disappeared, leaving behind the seigniors, the clergy, and the habitants. In January, 1759, a census was taken to ascertain how many were able to bear arms in the coming campaign. It showed there were 15,229 between sixteen and sixty who could take the field, and the total population was reported as 85,000. Twenty months later, at the capitulation, Vaudreuil handed the British authorities an official statement that of enrolled militia there were 16,000. During those twenty months the male population suffered from the effects of war, so that to ascertain the total population a higher ratio than the usual one to five must be taken. Multiplying 16,000 by six would show the population to be nigh 100,000.

While the seigniors retained their rents, the clergy lost their tithes. For fifteen years, whatever support they drew outside their own resources came either as voluntary gifts from their flocks, or, as Solicitor-General Wedderburn stated, under threat of excommunication. Nothing helped so much to reconcile the habitants to the new rule as the abolition of tithes, for tithes had always been unpopular. The priests lost nothing else. They were left undisturbed in their pastoral work, and shared in the prosperity that British rule had brought.

In the Province of Quebec the Church of Rome enjoys immunities and privileges unknown in any other part of the world, even in those countries which have Catholic sovereigns. Here, on British soil and under a Protestant King, that Church is not only, as it should be, autono-

mous and unrestricted by the State in its spiritual sphere, but at present it exercises many of the powers that belong to the State. It levies taxes for the building and upholding of its churches and the houses of its clergy, and a yearly tax may be made for the support of the priest of each parish, and payment of these taxes is enforced by the machinery of the secular courts. The vows of nuns and religieux are recognized by the civil law. A very large part of the real estate of the Church is exempted from taxation, and much of that real estate is made inalienable by mortmain. Education is placed in the hands of the bishops, who have a pledge that the legislature shall make no change in its regulations without their consent, nor interfere with their distribution of the grant of public money. While the Provincial Government is thus the servant of the Church, the hierarchy resents all appearance of supremacy of the State, and for this reason disregards the Dominion proclamations for feasts or thanksgivings. In a word, the Church sits as a queen in Quebec, panoplied in her assumptions by law, receiving from the State whatever she asks, dominating the Province as the first interest to be considered and served.

When it is pointed out that this supremacy is inconsistent with the rights of British subjects who do not own her sway, that the concessions made to her are destructive of their privileges, the answer comes that the Church of Rome has prescriptive rights in the Province of Quebec which cannot by either legislature or parliament be modified, much less taken away. The contention is, that when Canada was ceded, Great Britain bound herself by the treaty of Paris to continue to the priesthood the privileges and powers they possessed during the period of the French occupation.

Mr. Sellar goes on to prove from the terms of the surrender of Quebec to General Townshend and of Montreal to General Amherst, that it was only tolerance of the Roman Catholic religion which was guaranteed, not exceptional privileges. In the Treaty of Paris, drafted three years later, the representatives of France wanted the article to read "That the British King's new Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Roman Church *as they have done.*" The British representatives insisted upon altering the last clause of the article to read, "*As far as the laws of Great Britain permit.*"

NO MENTION OF LANGUAGE OR LAWS.

The British commissioners were resolute in having it fully understood that the subjects whom France was abandoning were to come under the rule of Britain, divested entirely of everything that pertained to their old status, and to that end insisted on the adoption of the following additional article:

The King of France "cedes and guarantees to his Britannic Majesty, in full right, Canada and its dependencies . . . and makes over the whole . . . in the most ample manner and form, without restriction and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guarantee."

The conveyance of Canada was thus made without a single reservation or condition in favor of the inhabitants, the French King abandoning his late subjects to the conqueror with brutal indifference. In the entire treaty there is not a single word about the French language or French laws. For the prevailing impression, that the Treaty of Paris placed the French-Canadians on a different plane from other British subjects, by preserving to them certain distinctive privileges, there is no foundation. That such a notion exists is due solely to the assertions of those whose interest it is to have it believed, but the fact is, that whatever is found exceptional in Quebec rests not upon treaty rights, and whoever says to the contrary asserts what he cannot prove.

TREATY OF PARIS.

The treaty was signed in February, 1763, and the following October King George issued a proclamation defining the limits of the new dependency, prescribing how it was to be governed, and the conditions on which settlers could rely.

The royal proclamation went on to declare:

"All persons inhabiting in, or resorting to, our said colony, may confide in our royal protection for the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws of our realm of England."

The proclamation instructs the governor to constitute courts for trying cases, both civil and criminal, as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England. There is not a word in the proclamation modifying this assurance of English law to whomsoever should settle in Canada, and not a word of any exception in favor of the French-Canadians. This proclamation of the King is unqualified and absolute in placing Canada under the same conditions as Massachusetts or New York.

In December, 1763, General Murray received his appointment as governor of the Province of Quebec, with minute instructions as to what he was to do. The following were the directions he was to follow in ecclesiastical affairs:

"And whereas we have stipulated, by the late definitive treaty of peace, concluded at Paris the 10th February, 1763, to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada, and that we will consequently give the most precise and most effectual order, that our new Roman Catholic subjects in that Province may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Roman Church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit; it is, therefore, our will and pleasure

that you do, in all things regarding the said inhabitants, conform with great exactness to the stipulations of the said treaty in this respect.

"You are not to permit of ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the See of Rome, or any other foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatsoever in the province under your government."

"And to the end that the Church of England may be established both in principles and practices, and that the said inhabitants may, by degrees, be induced to embrace the Protestant religion, and their children be brought up in the principles of it; we do hereby declare it to be our intention, when the said province shall have been accurately surveyed and divided into townships, districts, precincts, or parishes, in such a manner as shall be hereinafter directed, all possible encouragement shall be given to the erecting of Protestant schools in the said districts, townships and precincts, by settling, appointing and allotting proper quantities of land for that purpose, and also for a glebe and maintenance for a Protestant minister and Protestant schoolmasters; and you are to consider and report to us, by our commissioners for trade and plantations, by what other means the Protestant religion may be promoted, established and encouraged in our province under your government."

In these instructions there is not a word as to the French language, while as to courts and laws General Murray is advised to copy those of the other American colonies, especially of Nova Scotia. These are the facts of the treaty: (1) The French King asked that the article of the treaty regarding religion read so as to leave the priests their old status. (2) This the British not only refused, but inserted words to make it clear the priests would only have the status allowed by the English laws then in force. (3) To make the matter more definite, an article was included in the treaty declaring the French King made over his subjects in Canada without restriction. (4) Following the treaty, King George issued a proclamation declaring English law to be the law of Quebec. (5) The priests recognized they possessed no longer the status under the French regime by not exacting tithes or dues by law. (6) The instructions to the first governor were that he was not to permit any ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome in the province, and was told the intention was to make the Church of England its Established Church.

For generations the people of Canada have been listening to solemn assurances that the treaty of Paris secured to Quebec peculiar privileges, and these assurances have been accepted, although reference to the article of the treaty, even without considering the attending circumstances under which it was formulated, or the interpretation placed upon it by the governors and officials who had to carry the article into practice, would show they are falsehoods. Yet these untruthful assertions continue to be daily made.

THE QUEBEC ACT.

In the beginning of May, 1774, the British Government, without previous notice, laid before the House of Lords a bill to provide for better government of the Province of Quebec. It met with no opposition, and in a fortnight was adopted and transmitted to the House of Commons. It was a short bill, embodying three important enactments:

Restored French law.

Repealed test oaths and invested the priesthood with authority to levy tithes and dues.

Provided that the Province be ruled by a governor and nominated council.

Lord North, the Premier, in supporting the bill, said:

"Whether it is convenient to continue or to abolish the bishop's jurisdiction is another question. I cannot conceive that his presence is essential to the free exercise of religion; but I am sure that no bishop will be there under papal authority, because he will see that Great Britain will not permit any papal authority in the country. It is expressly forbidden in the Act of Supremacy. The unexpected lenity with which the French had been treated had caused them to rise in their demands, and they now asked nothing short of restoration of their laws and customs.

When the bill came before the Lords for concurrence in the amendments, Pitt, who had been unable to attend when the bill was being considered, arose from a sick-bed to enter a protest against it as subversive of liberty and opening the door to fresh dangers. It will shake the affections of the King's subjects on this side of the Atlantic, he declared, and lose to him the hearts of those on the other side. The warning of the statesman who had won Canada, who had rescued Britain from danger and disgrace, and led her, wherever her flag floated, triumphant over the forces of the combined Catholic powers of Europe, was unheeded.

What were the changes made by this Act which caused so much discussion? The fifth is the vital section, and reads:

"And for the more perfect security and ease of the minds of the inhabitants of the said Province, it is hereby declared, that His Majesty's subjects, professing the religion of the Church of Rome, and in said Province of Quebec, may have, hold and enjoy the free exercise of the religion of the Church of Rome, subject to the King's supremacy, and that the clergy of the said Church may hold, receive, and enjoy their accustomed dues and rights, with respect to such persons only as shall profess the said religion." The eighth runs thus: "That all His Majesty's Canadian subjects within the Province of Quebec, the religious

orders and communities only excepted, may also hold and enjoy their property and possessions, together with all customs and usages thereto, and all other civil rights as may consist with their allegiance to His Majesty, and subjection to the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain; and that in the matters of controversy, relative to property and civil rights, resort shall be had to the laws of Canada, as the rule for the decision of the same.”

WHAT THEN DO WE FIND?

First, that neither the treaty nor any of the imperial documents has a single word about the French language. The assertion that its official use was guaranteed has not a tittle of evidence to rest upon: It is a pure fabrication. Nowhere in the treaty, or the documents it is based upon, is the French language even recognized. Second, this is also true as to French laws. The treaty not only makes no reference, however indirectly, to such laws, but by the fourth article transferred to the inhabitants of Quebec to the British Crown without restriction. Third, as to religion. The treaty merely guaranteed that Catholics would have received toleration without specification. Then, following the treaty, King George issued a proclamation in which he assured all who went to Quebec that they “may confide in our royal protection for the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws of our realm of England.”

In instructing its first governor, Murray, how he was to rule the Province, the King enjoins him that, while giving such scope as the laws of England allowed to his Roman Catholic subjects, he was not to admit the jurisdiction of Rome. The measure of toleration thus allowed was recognized, as all those affected could expect under the treaty, and no complaint was made by them or by the French Government that Article Four was not observed. Let it be set down as a self-apparent fact that Wolfe’s victory preserved in the New World what the Old World soon afterwards destroyed—the clerical and temporal institutions of feudal France. The France that died at the taking of the Bastile, and which disappeared from the banks of the Seine, was preserved on the Plains of Abraham and survives to-day on the banks of the St. Lawrence. By a sweep of his pen George III. wiped out English jurisprudence and restored the laws of the Kings of France, and fastened anew on the people the parish system.

PRIVILEGES MAY BE REVOKED.

Privileges granted by legislation stand upon a different base from those secured by an international treaty. When by treaty they can only be withdrawn from the consent of the contracting nations. If granted

by legislation they can be dealt with like any other statute. Were the consent of France needed to strip the Church of Rome in Quebec of the immunities and powers it enjoys, its present government would exultingly give it. That consent is not required, for these immunities and powers are not of treaty but of legislation, and what legislation gave, legislation can take away.

The Dominion Parliament is competent to deal with the Quebec Act, or any other statute that affects the interests of the people it represents. To the priests the Act of Parliament of 1774 gave them power to collect tithes and fabrique taxes in the 82 parishes then in existence, and nothing more. Outside those parishes they were given no exceptional rights. The instructions to the governor who was to administer the Act inform him that the concession does not imply that the Church of Rome in Quebec is an established church, and he is forbidden to recognize its episcopal powers. Finally, the Act, while restoring French law and usage, does not do so in the Province at large, but only to that small portion of it held under seigniorial tenure, and that only for a time, for the council is admonished by the King to bring that law, as opportunity presented, into harmony with English law.

The French-Canadian has no treaty rights, but he has what is higher than any the King of his forefathers would have demanded for him—the rights of a British subject, and these alone. The Church of Rome in Quebec has no treaty rights, and nothing beyond what statutes have bestowed. Her peculiar privileges, so injurious to those outside her pale, so threatening to the peace of the Dominion, were obtained piecemeal, and at wide intervals, by legislation. At any time, by the will of the majority of the electors of the Dominion, whatever is contrary to the public weal in the laws of the Province of Quebec, can be annulled by legislation.

What was the gratitude of the priests towards King George? For a quarter of a century after the battle of the Plains of Abraham the expectation was strong that France would speedily recapture Canada; that it was only a matter of a few years when the Union Jack would be displaced. Possessed by this conviction, the clergy exerted themselves to isolate their flocks from the newcomers, going so far as to prejudice them against learning their speech, by declaring English to be a Protestant language. The expedients of that time to keep the French habitants a separate people are still in use.

BOASTED LOYALTY OF FRENCH CLERGY.

The attitude of the clergy during the American revolution has been constantly quoted as proof of their loyalty to the British Crown. It meant simply this, that between two English-speaking communities, their

choice was against the Americans. Later on, however, when France took a hand in the struggle, sending ships and soldiers to help the Americans, there was a change of tone. When word came of the surrender at Yorktown and of the prospect of the victorious French fleet shaping its course next for the St. Lawrence, there was alarm among the officials of Quebec. Governor Haldimand apprehended the worst, especially when he heard of the circulation of a report that the Pope has absolved them from the oath of allegiance they had taken to King George. "If," Haldimand writes to England, "The Americans invade the Province with a few hundred French soldiers, the Canadians will take up arms in their favor, will serve as guides, and furnish provisions." Had the French fleet steered from Yorktown for Quebec the figment "that it was the priests who kept Canada to Britain during the American revolution" would have been exploded.

INVASION OF QUEBEC BY UNITED STATES.

Washington declared the annexation of Canada to be of the utmost importance. That this view was shared by those who were assisting him in directing affairs was shown by their detaching, at a critical period, so important a personage as Benjamin Franklin to try and conciliate the French; for the Americans approached the task of winning Canada in two ways—by force of arms and by diplomacy. Secret agents were set to work in the parishes and spies on the British officers were hired at every point of importance.

Perhaps the myth which is the most direct perversion of fact is that which represents the saving of Canada to the British Crown during the American revolution as due to the devotion of the priests and loyalty of the habitants. Hundreds of orators, amid thunders of applause, have drawn the picture of Canada cruelly abandoned by France and dominated by a British garrison, yet, when threatened by American invaders, rallying under the advice of their beloved pastors for the defence of their new masters and going forth as of yore, led by their seigniors to whom they still rendered loyal allegiance. What are the facts as presented in the despatches of Governor-General Carleton, his successor, Haldimand, and of other officials? Laboring under the delusion that the habitants would take the loyalist side, Carleton was advised to call out the militia, and in order to arm them 6,000 muskets were sent to him at Quebec, to be followed later on by equipment for an army of 20,000 men. None could be got to shoulder the muskets. Every attempt to raise the militia was futile.

He still cherished the hope that the Americans would not be able to cross the river for want of boats. There was delay, and he thought he was correct in his surmise. The delay was in collecting boats. In an

agony of disappointment, Carleton saw the habitants ferry the Americans over to besiege him. Montreal was still surrounded by the stone wall of the French period, and although he had only sixty soldiers, eighty sailors, and a handful of English militia, Carleton resolved to hold it, for he had cannon, while the enemy, so far, had only rifles. He soon realized his position was untenable, from what he termed "the treachery of the habitants," who cut off his supply parties and captured his messengers. He complained bitterly. The disobedience of the people increased; they everywhere helped the Americans, while the King's representatives were betrayed. A messenger who had eluded the enemy brought word that Sorel was in the hands of the Americans, and that a thousand Frenchmen had joined their ranks. The language in which he speaks of the habitants is that of a man who had been deceived. He had been instrumental in carrying the Quebec Act, in the belief that its concessions would reconcile them to British rule, and was now mortified to find this very Act used by the Americans as a reason why they should join them. In his despatches to England Carleton refers to the baseness of the habitants and their ingratitude for all the favors shown them, as a wretched people blind to honor.

HABITANTS FAVOUR AMERICANS.

An American army had threaded the wilds of Maine, and unexpectedly appeared on the opposite shore to Quebec. Carleton realized that prompt action was needed. With traitors within and without the walls, to defend Montreal was going to be difficult, but of what use would it be to hold it should Quebec be lost? Quebec was the key of Canada, and must be saved. On the night of the 11th of November he embarked his little garrison on boats, abandoning Montreal, and reached Quebec in a rowboat on the 19th, and none too soon.

Carleton's sole advantage lay in the fortifications. On New Year's eve the Americans had arranged for a midnight attack, which resulted in their disastrous repulse. The spot where one of their generals, Montgomery, paid his life for his temerity, is still pointed out on the cliff where he fell. This defeat had an immediate effect on the habitants, shaking their belief that the Americans were bound to win, and hastened the revulsion of feeling that was already working in their minds.

Both sides of the river were in the undisputed possession of the Americans, with their headquarters in Montreal, where they raised a regiment of French-Canadians. Arnold enlisted another regiment at Quebec and reported he would have taken more had he been able to equip them. A third regiment was embodied at Sorel under the American colours. General Schuyler wrote from Montreal to his chief:

"I can have as many Canadians as I know how to maintain." At Three Rivers there was no difficulty in raising 500 rank and file and in getting thirty of the better class to accept the commissions of Congress to command them. During that winter of 1775-76, when the Province of Quebec was practically a State of the Union, we hear not a word of the promise of Bishop Briand "that his priests would refuse the sacraments to whoever aided the invaders." On the morning of the 6th of May a shout went up that three sail were in sight, and when, on drawing nearer, the red flag of their country was discerned flying from the foremast of the leading ship, strong men broke down from the reaction of the suspense of five months, and with tears and shouts of joy grasped each other's hands. No sooner had the ships cast anchor than boats were lowered and the landing of troops began. The hour of remaining on the defensive had passed.

Had Carleton surrendered when surrounded at Montreal, the Stars and Stripes would be floating to-day over Canada. It is to his daring flight to Quebec, to his placing its fortifications in a posture of defence, to his dogged courage in defending them under every form of discouragement for five cold, dreary months, that the maintenance of British possession is due. It may be said, it was the arrival of the British fleet in the spring that saved Canada. It is true, had not help come when it did, the Americans would have triumphed, but it is equally true that had Carleton not kept a foothold on Cape Diamond, the one spot in a vast territory that had not surrendered to the enemy, the coming of British reinforcements in the spring of 1776 would have been of no avail. With the fortifications of Quebec in his possession, General Thomas could have prevented the British fleet passing the Cape and the landing of the troops it carried.

It was Carleton who saved Canada in 1776, and whoever says otherwise denies the honor that is his due. Priest, seignior, and habitant had knuckled to the American Republicans; it was Carleton and his little garrison who defeated their plans. In the House of Commons, on the 30th of April, 1908, the Hon. L. P. Brodeur, the present Minister of Marine, in extolling his compatriots, said: "We are glad to serve under the British Crown, to which we are devoted. And when at different times in our history British connection was in danger it was the French-Canadians who were there to defend the British Crown. Who in 1775 stood up in defence of the British Crown, if not the French-Canadians? Who in 1812 fought the battle of Chateauguay and repulsed the American troops, if not the French-Canadians?

Of such are the deliberate perversions of history by which Quebec's claims for special privileges are supported. The evidence is beyond controversy that the French-Canadians in 1775 rose in revolt when it was attempted to enroll them to fight the Americans, that when the

Americans came they fraternized with them, gave them the help and supplies without which they could not have come to the gates of Quebec and Montreal, and finally several thousands of them took the oath of allegiance to the new Republic, and were enrolled as soldiers under its flag. A year after his sore experience in repulsing the American invasion, when he had time to deliberately review the past, Governor Carleton wrote the Colonial Secretary in London: "As to my opinion of the Canadians, I think there is nothing to fear from them while we (the British) are in a state of prosperity, and nothing to hope for when in distress."

The bill erecting two Provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, was passed and another step taken in perpetuating the French regime under the British flag. This is the policy which, half a century afterwards, Lord Durham deplored and endeavored to correct. A remarkable feature of the Act, and of which slight notice has been taken in any of our histories, is its making the Church of England the Established Church of both Provinces. After declaring that the provision in the Act of 1774, ordering "that the clergy of the Church of Rome in the Province of Quebec might hold, receive and enjoy their accustomed dues from their members," the Act authorized the Governor-in-Council to erect Church of England rectories within every township, or parish, and to pay the rectors' salaries out of the waste lands to be allotted for that purpose, or from any tithes that may be collected. It would be correct to describe the Act as one founding a modified system of self-government and establishing the Church of England in Canada, and the Act furnishes incontrovertible evidence that, a generation after the conquest, the home government regarded the Church of Rome in Quebec as an alien organization, having no inherent rights, and none beyond those it had conferred upon it, with a declared intention of making the Church of England the Church of Quebec. That the purpose of the Act failed does not affect the proof it supplies of the nature of the standing of the Church of Rome in Quebec in 1791, or of the intention at that date of the government.

MEETING OF THE LEGISLATURE.

The farmers of the whole parishes refused to vote, and in others the feeling was carried to the extent of forcibly preventing those who wished to do so. However elected, legally or not, members reported from each county. They were, apart from a few farmers, the big men of their parish, French, if seigniors or their sons, or if they were notaries or lawyers; merchants if English. When the House opened the question of language necessarily had to be settled. The supposition that the use of French as an official language was provided for in the Act of 1791 is erroneous. There is nothing in it about language.

English was the sole official language, and all the first Assembly could do was to agree on the permissive use of French in its debates and journals. The debate as to language arose in choosing a Speaker, and the remarks of one of the members have been preserved. Mr. Panet said: "I will explain my mind on the necessity that the Speaker we are about to choose should possess and speak equally well the two languages. In which ought he to address the governor—is it in the English or the French language? To solve the question, I ask whether this colony is or is not an English colony? What is the language of the sovereign and of the legislature from whom we hold the constitution which assembles us to-day? What is the general language of the Empire? What is that of one part of our fellow-citizens? What will that of the other and that of the whole Province be at a certain epoch? I think it is but decent that the Speaker, on whom we may fix our choice be one who can express himself in English when he addresses himself to the representative of our sovereign."

When the Assembly met relations between France and Britain were strained. The French revolution had broken out, party feeling was red-hot, and it was plain to all that only Pitt's great influence kept the two nations from flying at each other's throat. Just when national feeling was glowing intensely, when English were English and French were French, with a meaning never before known, the Assembly met. They could not unite.

When each ship that cast anchor off Cape Diamond brought tidings of worse and worse excesses in France; when every institution, however venerable from age or association with all that men reverence, was being overthrown, when scaffolds were daily drenched with blood, and every land was crowded with fugitives, then came the announcement that France had declared war against Britain. The handful of British on the banks of the St. Lawrence realized their danger and proceeded to take steps for defence. The governor ordered a levy of the militia. It was the second effort to call the habitants to arms under the British flag. It was a paltry contingent he asked, 2,000 men. It was found impossible to make the levy. Disaffection found expression in riots and passive resistance.

THE HABITANT.

The habitant, as we find him to-day, in an economical sense, is the product of British rule. It was under Murray, Carleton and Haldimand the transformation took place. And this habitant created under British rule is incomparably the finest type of the French people. In solid worth-honesty, industry, kindly disposition, politeness—he commands respect, and if the causes were removed which have kept him unprogressive, he would astonish those who decry him, for the habitant

and his children are naturally bright and have the capacity to take a foremost place among the peoples of this continent. Those who speak disparagingly of the habitant are ignorant of the qualities which lie latent within him, awaiting the touch of the spirit of truth.

IMMIGRATION INTO QUEBEC.

From the year 1790 ships landed families and groups of families, who found homes in Quebec; but a steady stream of immigrants did not set towards the St. Lawrence until 1815, and high flood was not reached until 1820. Lord Dorchester perceived the obstacle which seigniorial tenure presented to the settlement of the Province, and proposed, not only that all unsurveyed land be granted in free and common socage, but that steps be taken to enable seigniors to dispose of their un-conceded lands in the same way. The French members strenuously opposed these proposals, demanding that parish and seigniorial tenure be made universal. In resisting the change of tenure, the majority in the Assembly did not express the desires of the habitants, who were a unit for the abolition of the feudal tenure. In 1821 the Assembly declared itself in favor of extending the seigniorial system over the entire Province. The priests were determined their people would not be allowed to go on lands from which tithe and tax could not be collected, and the Assembly obeyed their order. The open and persistent hostility of the French leaders in the Assembly towards the English-speaking settlements was consistent from their point of view. Their ardent desire was to preserve Quebec for their own people. Secretly, for it was dangerous to avow it, they cherished the hope of its becoming a French Republic.

INFLUENCE OF NAPOLEON'S SUCCESSES.

The French revolution had done in Quebec, what the American revolution had failed to bring about—it had formed a band of Republicans of men who were enthusiastic in their belief that merely changing the form of government would transform everything. After the revolution came the rise of Napoleon. It is impossible for us to realize the dazzling effect his victories and rapid rise had on the French mind. The ruling class at Quebec and Montreal looked on the French as traitors at heart, ready to side with the tyrant who was menacing the existence of Great Britain, and, unfortunately, by their haughty bearing and their high-handed acts, in averting the danger they supposed existed, intensified the Anglophobe sentiment.

Perhaps of all the foolish means to which the governors resorted, to defeat a purpose that was palpable, was their endeavors to enlist the priesthood on their side. The attitude to be taken by Protestant rulers towards the Church of Rome is so plain that there is no excuse

for their going wrong. As the Church of a section of their fellow-men, it is entitled to the same protection as is extended to other Churches. To go further, is to place themselves in a false position. The Protestant ruler who looks upon that Church as a depository of political power, and negotiates with it in order to obtain its support, is a party to an immoral proceeding, for two reasons. First, he is a traitor to those principles the term Protestant represents; second, he does wrong to the ministers of the Church of Rome in asking them to use their spiritual power to advance temporal ends. Yet of this crime against the body politic, this sin against God, every governor, save Dalhousie and Craig before the union, was guilty. Since the union, when personal gave way to representative government, every party leader stands equally convicted, for, to this hour, it has been their policy to enlist the influence of the hierarchy on their side.

The records tell one story—of the extremity of the State being made the opportunity of the Church, of how that Church has grown in power and prerogative through the subserviency of politicians, who made alliances with her to promote their individual interests or those of their party. How great the concessions have been, only those realize who will compare what the Church of Rome was in the days of Murray and Carleton with what she is now. Then she was dependent on the will of the civil magistrate: to-day she dictates her desires to Cabinets and Legislatures.

The heads of the Church never exerted their influence to help the British to retain Canada, without gaining an advantage for their Church. Carleton, who first tried to mould the priesthood to suit his designs, was insistent that it should be composed of Canadians born and educated, because he looked upon the priests who had come from France with suspicion.

THE WAR OF 1812.

The breaking out of the war in 1812 came opportunely for the priesthood. The new danger caused the executive to seek their assistance, and the plan devised by Craig, to bring the priests under direct control of the governor, was abandoned. The yearly allowance from the Imperial Treasury of \$1,000 to Bishop Plessis was raised to \$5,000, and, what he valued more than the additional money, the warrant for his salary, in 1813 was no longer made out in favor of "the superintendent of the Romish Church," for the existence of a bishop had not hitherto been officially recognized, but in favor of "the Roman Catholic bishop of Quebec," and so giving him, for the first time since the conquest, a legal status as such. Reduced to choosing between the rule of the American Republic and that of Britain, the priesthood had no hesitation in deciding for the latter.

The claim that it was due to the priests that Canada did not join in the American revolution, that the madness of the French uprising against monarchy, did not spread to Quebec, that they prevented an invasion during Napoleon's reign; that they held back the inhabitants from assisting the Americans during the war of 1812, will not bear examination. In each instance they acted as the interests of their Church required and without regard to the advantage of Britain. In every one of the four opportunities which the French-Canadians had of rising against Briton, it is obvious their Church was going to profit more by remaining under British rule than in passing under that of Robespierre, of Napoleon, or of the United States. Under such conditions, it was easy to pose as the friends of Britain and to accept money and legal concessions for supposed services.

With the close of the war of 1812 came a change in the tone of the bishop and his executive. Concessions ceased to be humbly prayed for; they were demanded, and the arrogance which ended in making the Church the dictator in temporal affairs began to be apparent.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY.

The period between the peace of 1814 and the year 1837 is commonly spoken of as a struggle for constitutional liberty, and gratitude expressed to Papineau and his colleagues for the part they played. Men who ought to know better are still heard repeating: "We are enjoying what they fought for." If we were enjoying what Papineau and his associates fought for, we would be living in a French republic. Why be misled by names and cries? Is it conceivable that Papineau was the representative of freedom and Dalhousie of despotism? Is it not more consonant with fact and common-sense, to say Papineau plotted to overthrow British rule and Dalhousie resisted him in order to maintain it?

The Assembly demanded that the Crown lands be entrusted to their charge. What was their motive? They did not conceal it. They wanted to stop the flow of English-speaking settlers into the townships. Did Dalhousie act as a tyrant or as a true servant of the government he represented, when he put his foot down and said "No," with emphasis; he would keep the control of the waste lands in the hands of the executive and go on inducing English-speaking immigrants to take up their abode in Quebec. For thirty years the Assembly and the executive were in open strife. In 1801 a well-meant attempt was made to establish a system of elementary schools. It was defeated by the priests. Unless given control of the schools they would prevent their people attending them, and so the plan came to naught as far as the habitants were concerned.

Instead of habitants, the House was largely made up of lawyers

and notaries, with an occasional physician, or seignior. The habitants having no political opinions, no conception, in fact, of representative government, the educated members took them in hand to instil into their minds the views they wished them to hold. The political speech after mass became an institution, and hearing no other views, and unable to read, the habitants believed what was told them in those Sunday orations. Here the English were at a disadvantage. They had no class equivalent to that which composed the majority of the Assembly, and the few among them capable of going on the platform were ignorant of French. The consequence was that, for over forty years, a propaganda hostile to British interests, was carried on without check.

It may be remarked that to this day the habitants have never been represented in Parliament by members chosen from their ranks, though the same cause, namely, lack of sufficiently educated men among them, does not now exist. They are still, as in the days of Craig and Dalhousie, represented by deputies drawn from the professional class, and the Dominion has the views of that class thrust upon it, as the voice of Quebec, to whose votes they owe their seats, but of a class distinct and widely different from their constituents, a class of which no other Province has its counterpart—men educated in clerical colleges, and who, no matter what profession they choose, expect to figure in public life. It is from this select class the habitants receive their political teaching. A bright boy appears. The priest advises his being sent to college. The training of these colleges destroys individuality. The fact of their being residential makes this possible. Cut off from outside intercourse, taught by priests, directed by priests, constantly associated with priests, the lad imbibes their views.

In their leaders the French had the advantage. The English had no men to compare in ability, fertility of resource, or persistence to Viger, Cuvillier, and Papineau. The last dominated. Justice has not been done that remarkable man. To dismiss him as a demagogue who played on the string of racial hate is to misrepresent him. He stands the foremost man of his race in intellect and independence of thought. As a sincere believer in the Republican form of government, the administration at Quebec was objectionable to him as representing royalty.

Up to about 1830 the English-speaking population of the Province was largely composed of native-born Americans, and, in Montreal especially, there was a wealthy colony of them. Firm in the belief that an independent French Republic would be found impossible, the Americans supported Papineau, in the expectation that the result of the agitation he headed would be annexation. The most prominent man in this class was Nelson.

It was the Montreal merchants and the Ulster and Scottish farmers who preserved Quebec to Britain in 1837-38. The wealth and influence of the first, and the sturdy resistance of the second, were rocks that could not be swept aside. The growth of the British settlements along the frontier was such that, in 1825, it was computed their assessable property outvalued that of the parishes between them and the river, yet, progressive and important as they were, to them the advantages of governmental institutions were denied. The assembly treated them as intruders who were not to be recognized. This in itself proves the hollowness of the pretension that the movement headed by Papineau was to redress constitutional grievances. No violation of the principle of self-government is comparable to denying an important section of the population a voice in the government.

Consideration of the intentions of the party represented by Papineau and of the class represented by Dalhousie will correct many grievous mistakes in the popular mind regarding Quebec history. The one aimed at the formation of "la nation Canadienne;" the other sought to reproduce on Canadian soil all that was good in Britain. The great service rendered by what was known, up to 1840, as the British party in Quebec, in rendering possible the Canada we know, to-day will yet be acknowledged.

THE REBELLION OF 1837-38.

Bishop Plessis encouraged and aided the movement headed by Papineau, but his successor discovered, that in the interests of his Church there would have to be a change. The governor was approached, the bishop seeing an opportunity for making a bargain; if the Government would agree to leave the seigniory of Montreal in the hands of the seminary of St. Sulpice, if it would give its consent to the appointment of a bishop for Montreal, if it would give civil powers to new canonical parishes, if it would drop the clauses in the drafted Union Act, the influence of the priesthood would be won over. An understanding between the bishop and the governor was arrived at. The change of attitude of the priests was quickly perceived by Papineau. They had encouraged him in the agitation, so long as it suited them, and now they had made a bargain at his expense and that of his associates. He resented the betrayal with all the ardor of his enthusiastic temperament.

In 1831, when a petition from the Assembly was presented to him, Lord Sherbrooke asked if they had included all their grievances; was there not something behind, they were concealing; would they not be candid and tell all? The something they were concealing, it was not yet time to avow, but what that something was had become palpable to the most unobservant. It was asked that all revenues, no matter

how derived, be placed in the hands of the Assembly, that it have control of all officials, including judges, that the management of the militia be given over to it by the governor, that the legislative council be made elective, and then came Papineau's crowning proposal that the governor be elected. All this involved severance from Britain, and in a Province where the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants were French, it meant a French government.

When the issue had become thus clear, many who had hitherto sided with the majority fell out. The first to drop away were the few English-speaking radicals who had supported Papineau. Nelson, the Scotch printer, who had, to the serious injury of his business, stood by him through thick and thin, now convinced that it was not constitutional reform that had animated Papineau, withdrew from him. The Irish Roman Catholics, having no wish to live in a French republic, refused their countenance any longer. French business men in the cities, seeing that loss of property might ensue, signed loyal addresses. Acting under instructions from Britain, every governor after Dalhousie strove to win over the disaffected.

The British party considered the policy of conciliation had been carried too far, and were loud in denouncing the governors, whom they blamed for currying favor with the Church and Papineau. It is of the nature of all agitations, that when they reach a certain degree of impetus, the leaders lose control, and, instead of guiding, are driven. It was so with Papineau. He had to go on. Casting aside all pretences about the constitution, he formally repudiated allegiance to Britain and declared his intention of forming an independent State, to be under the protection of the great Republic to the south.

The terms on which the Church of Rome agreed with the British authorities to assist in defeating Papineau and his associates included recognition of the division of the Province into two dioceses, Quebec and Montreal, with Lartigue as bishop of Montreal, bestowing on the bishops authority to create new parishes and re-arrange old ones, and to give to the Sulpicians the three seigniories they owned before the conquest. So highly did Sir John Colborne estimate the services of the priests, that he hurried to fulfil his part of the bargain. When the first union parliament met in 1841, among the bills it passed was one conveying to the Sulpicians the property they coveted. It was valuable then; it is incomparably more valuable to-day. The advent of Protestants in Quebec, while it ended the days of the province as a purely Papal preserve, enriched the Church that resented their coming. The skill and the enterprise of Protestants have made the island of Montreal the richest spot in Canada, and every square foot of it worth more than an acre under French rule. Out of the increase of values the

priests of St. Sulpice have reaped what they never earned, and are the richest corporation in the Dominion.

PRE-CONFEDERATION POLITICS.

The Act of 1841, uniting Ontario and Quebec, is spoken of as the result of Lord Durham's advice. The union effected by the Act was not such a union as he recommended. Durham wanted complete union—a merging of the people of the two Provinces into one, with one law and one administration of law, no discrimination to be allowed on account of faith or origin, but an effort to be made, so far as legislation could effect it, of assimilation by the destruction of all legal differences. This was the kernel of his plan. The Ontario members were split into factions, the English-speaking members from Quebec voted with whomsoever controlled the patronage, so it came to pass that the solid French phalanx held the balance of power.

Each session of the new legislature made it more plain that the very object which the union of the two Provinces was designed to bring about, namely, the control of the priest-directed element, had been lost, and the union, as a remedy for the evils it was designed to cure, was a disastrous failure. The parliamentary history of Canada between 1841 and 1867 is, in essence, a narrative of how, step by step, Quebec obtained dominance. The first notable advance was in 1848, when the Lafontaine-Baldwin administration secured the repeal of the section in the Union Act making English the official language. The supremacy of Quebec, however, was not absolute until Sir John Macdonald and Cartier took office on the understanding that no bill affecting Quebec should become law unless supported by a majority of its members. Such a basis of action virtually dissolved the union.

At the conquest, the Church of Rome entered a condition of sufferance; its next step was to become a power to be propitiated for the sake of the favours it could bestow. It now blossomed into supremacy. During the last seventeen years of the union the bishops got what they sought, and in Quebec their Church was buttressed by statutes and enriched by donations through the votes of Ontario members. One member realized the extent of the evil, but failed to perceive its cure. The remedy of George Brown, representation by population, was the old delusion in a new guise of overcoming the difficulty that arose from Quebec by force of numbers, instead of plucking the difficulty out by the roots.

Had Brown traced the wrongs he deplored to their source, he would have applied himself to effecting in Quebec what he helped to do in Ontario, namely, complete separation of Church and State. Sandfield Macdonald's remedy, double majority, was the device of a coward, who, instead of facing a difficulty, evades it. The members of each

Province were to decide bills affecting their respective Provinces, and when there was not a majority of the members concerned, in favor of such a bill, it was to be dropped, even if a majority of the united house was in its favor. When a crucial case arose, Macdonald showed the cloven foot. The Catholic bishops pressed for Separate Schools in Ontario. It was a bill that concerned Ontario alone, and a majority of its members voted against it. Maedonald refused to apply his own principle to the case, and Separate Schools were forced on Ontario by the votes of the Quebec members. No greater calamity has befallen Ontario.

CONFEDERATION BOUND FETTERS ON PROTESTANTISM IN QUEBEC.

In doing violence to their professed convictions by uniting in the purposes of the Quebec majority, the Ontario members lowered their moral standard and became self-seekers. Then there was a deadlock—the end of the union of 1841 had come. There was no questioning as to the cause of the deadlock, it was admittedly the thrusting of the will of the Quebec hierarchy on Quebec. To make sure that, for the future, that hierarchy should have no hand in what the legislature did, would have been the remedy of statesmen. The party politicians, to whom the solving of the difficulty fell, were intent alone in getting the machinery of the State again in motion—the Conservatives to enjoy a new lease of office; the Liberals, long shut out, were eager for a coalition, that they might share in honors and patronage. The Liberals agreed that, whatever new arrangement was made, they would not interfere with the institutions peculiar to Quebec.

It was accordingly agreed to copy the American system, to substitute a federal for the existing legislative union. Ontario and Quebec were to separate, each to be autonomous and self-governing as regards local affairs, with a Federal House to deal with matters common to them and the other Provinces which had agreed to join. There were no compunctions as to leaving the English-speaking people of Quebec to the rule of the majority. Protests from the minority against their abandonment were treated as the expressions of bigots. It was represented, on behalf of the Quebec majority, that there was nothing to fear, that the Protestants would be the objects of their most considerate care.

There were protests from isolated bodies of electors, but they were unheeded. The one danger, to the eyes of many, was in regard to education. Make our schools secure and we will go in for Confederation, was the cry of many. Sir A. T. Galt satisfied those people by getting a clause inserted that their schools were to be continued as they were, and that should any complaint arise of invasion of this provision, appeal could be made to the Federal authorities. In the proposal of

this clause the Church of Rome saw her opportunity. If, said her representatives in the conference, we concede this, we must have equal security for the schools of the minority in Ontario. The schools of the Quebec minority were Public Schools; the schools of the Ontario minority were the schools of a Church; there was no parallel between them, but the demand to place them on an equality was successful, and just because the English people of Quebec prayed for protection against the possibility of having their free, open, non-sectarian schools changed into confessional schools, the price of that protection was that the people of Ontario should have fastened on them, for all time, so far as the British North America Act could do it, the Separate Schools that had been, in the first place, imposed upon them by Quebec votes.

That the Provinces could have continued much longer distinct was impossible; a union of the Provinces had to come. The pity is, it should have been accomplished at the time and with the object it immediately served. A constitutional deadlock had arisen between Quebec and Ontario, caused by the clashing of Church and State. The remedy, the removal of all semblance of connection between the two, the politicians of the day would not face. They evaded the difficulty for the time being, by resorting to a union of all the Provinces. Confederation was supported by the leaders of the two parties in Quebec and Ontario as a device to leave the connection between Church and State as it was, partially releasing Ontario from the grip of the hierarchy, while strengthening its hold on Quebec. Confederation prolonged the life of an evil, the meddling of the Church of Rome with the government of the country; an evil which ought to have been dealt with in 1866, and which, assuredly, will yet have to be dealt with, for it is inconceivable that a free people will continue to submit to their government being subject to the influence of any Church; that cardinal, archbishop or ablegate has to be consulted, and his views deferred to when a question comes before parliament in which the Church of Rome claims a voice.

Confederation bestowed on Quebec substantially what Papineau asked. She became an independent, self-governing Province, having a legislature of her own, her own civil service, her own cabinet, her own governor. In every regard, outside of inter-provincial relations, she was not to be held accountable. The concessions dazzled her public men, who proceeded as if the glories with which imagination had invested New France were to be revived. The assumptions of the laity were not to be compared, however, with those of the clergy. Confederation had restored to them greater plenitude of power than they had enjoyed when Louis was King, and they used it to the full. Public men made it their boast that their obedience to the bishops was implicit and unreserved, and, in pleading before electors, they held this up as a claim for support, rival candidates competing on the

hustings in depreciating each other's loyalty to their Church. It was a period of distressful explanations by Liberals and of exultant boastings by Conservatives. A new type of journalism was developed, which was happily characterized as more Catholic than the Pope.

THE JESUIT ESTATES AFFAIR.

Bishop Bourget invited the general of the Jesuits to renew the tradition of his order in Canada, and in 1842 he sent six fathers, who proceeded to establish a college in Montreal. Whoever chooses to look over a "Parliamentary Guide" will see how many members, both at Ottawa and Quebec, received their training in St. Mary's College, and will realize how deeply, through the men imbued with its principles in that chosen seat, Jesuitism influences our politics and shapes the destinies of the Dominion. These newly-arrived Jesuits and their successors described to their pupils the confiscation of the Jesuit estates by King George, at the conquest, as an act of spoliation, and claimed that compensation ought to be made.

None of the scores of young men who passed through their hands and rose high in the political world dared to propose that the Jesuits be compensated for the act of a British administration until Mercier appeared. Visiting Rome, he made a proposition to the general of the Order of Jesus, which he afterwards submitted to the Pope, who ratified it. On the assembling of the legislature he introduced a resolution to pay out of the public funds \$460,000 as compensation to the order for the estates which the Crown had declared to be public property more than a century before, together with a portion of the seigniory of Laprairie. The resolution was adopted, and the bill founded upon it passed.

To none of the other guarantees for the rights of the minority, which he got inserted in the Act of Confederation, did Sir A. T. Galt attach as much weight as to that of appeal to the Federal Parliament, which he described as their real palladium. It was now to be tested. The principle involved was unmistakable—was it lawful for the Quebec Legislature to tax Protestants to make a present to the Jesuit Society? An appeal was made to Ottawa to veto what had been done at Quebec. The appeal was rejected by 188 to 13. The money was paid, the land transferred, and the delusion about guarantees shattered.

THE PARISH SYSTEM IN THE TOWNSHIP.

Writing only nine years after Confederation, Sir Alex. Galt pointed out that in only two of the constituencies, always regarded as English, could a candidate be elected independent of the Catholic vote. The change was due to the extraordinary activity shown by the priest-

hood in planting Catholic colonies in the townships, with assistance given out of the Government chest under the guise of repatriation. The Papal Zouaves were rewarded by a block of township land. There were a few Irish Catholic congregations, who had supported their priest and built their churches by voluntary contributions. On being required to pay tithe and building-tax they resisted. Their appeals to the courts were futile: on proof being led that their farms formed part of a parish proclaimed by the Lieutenant-Governor, judgment was given against them. Eventually these parishes were reduced to the level of those surrounding them, by substituting French priests for their Irish pastors. The Irish Catholics also resisted the introduction of Separate Schools. Their children had for two generations gone to the same school as their Protestant neighbors, but their resistance was in vain. Once started, the exodus of the English-speaking farmers went on in an increasing ratio. The beginning of the century found them outnumbered in every county south of the St. Lawrence, where, thirty years before, they were in a majority, and with their smaller numbers came decline in political influence.

The prime cause of the ejection of Protestants from the land is the parish system. So long as a farm is owned by a Protestant the priest can levy no tithe; his trustees no building-tax. The moment it is sold to a Catholic, the priest draws tithe and the church wardens exact dues.

In the Act of 1774, restoring French law within the seigniories, the rest of the country is expressly excepted: "Nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any lands that have been, or hereafter shall be granted by His Majesty, his heirs and successors, to be holden in free and common socage."

This law has never been repealed, and stands as much in force today as any other section of the Act. If that section is not valid, is not now the law of the land, then neither is section 8, which Rome considers the legal bulwark of her privileges. There never was a clearer case of defiance of an Imperial statute than the erecting of parishes in the townships.

The Premier of our Dominion, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, has been abroad of late, repeating with eloquent iteration that the secret of binding alien peoples to the British Crown is to copy what has been done in Quebec, thrusting the advice on British statesmen that to solve the situation on South Africa they should grant the Boers the fullest autonomy. What of the hypocrisy of talking thus and at the very time being a party to the crushing of the autonomy of the Eastern Townships, robbing its Protestant settlers of their rights as British subjects, winking at the violation of laws in order to make their situation unendurable, and so drive them forth to seek equal rights in another region—too often under another flag?

These Townships' farmers, as fine a yeomanry as the sun ever shone upon, the influence and services of whose fathers in hours of danger saved Canada to Britain, are being ousted by the class in whose mouths autonomy, self-government, constitutional rights, are being constantly repeated. The victims of ecclesiastical designs ask for no exceptional treatment. What they do ask is, that they be rescued from the schemes and stratagems of a Church that claims to have special privileges, and that that Church be rendered powerless to hurt them by its being placed on the same level as other Churches. Is that an unreasonable demand? The shame is, that in a British colony British subjects should have to prefer such a demand.

AS TO THE SCHOOLS.

Many who speak in a loose way say it is the educational difficulty that drives the Protestant farmers away. The primal cause is the parish system, of which Separate Schools are merely a consequence. Had Sir A. T. Galt, when acting as representative of the Quebec minority in the framing of Confederation, instead of asking guarantees for schools, simply demanded that the parish system be confined to the limits defined in the Quebec Act, the farmers in the townships would have been comparatively safe; for, if in them Rome could not levy taxes to build churches and parsonages and tithes to support priests, it would have had no more interest to bring its forces to bear in expelling the Protestant farmers from the townships of Quebec than it has in meddling with the farmers across the line in Vermont and New York States.

The planting of schools among the habitants is comparatively recent. The organizing of their schools fell to their priests, and they made them adjuncts of their Church. From the earliest period the preparation of children for first communion had been by means of oral repetition. Someone, commonly the mother, repeated the catechism and prayers from memory, and the words they said, the little ones stored away as they listened. The introduction of schools was seized upon to do this work of preparation, and their main purpose to this day is to fit the scholars for their first communion. After that ceremony, few, of the boys at least, attend. These schools are as much a part of the Papal system as its convents.

The purpose and end of the Separate School system is to divide the children, to hive those whose parents are Catholics, to keep them apart from other children, to bring them up as a distinct caste, whose first allegiance is not to Canada, but to Rome. The amalgamation and consolidation of the people into one Canadian nation is thus prevented.

In his demand for Separate Schools, the Archbishop of St. Boniface is persistent in setting forth that Catholics in Manitoba have the same

right to Separate Schools as have the Protestants of Quebec. There is a Jesuitical concealment of truth here. The Protestants of Quebec have no Separate Schools: their schools are public and non-sectarian, the proof of which is, that in nearly all of them Catholic children are to be found, and, in not a few instances, Catholic teachers.

For two score years, at least, there were schools in the townships before there was any serious effort to found any kind of schools in the parishes. This priority, it is of importance to bear in mind. When the Act of 1844 began to be enforced, there were schools in every English-speaking settlement. In farming communities the support available for schools is limited. Children cannot be expected to walk over two miles to school, and that radius gives, where farms range from one to two hundred acres, an average of one school to every twenty families.

This physical obstacle to a rural population keeping up more than one school has not been taken into account by those who have framed our educational laws. Introduce a second school, and one or other has to go out of existence, for there are only sufficient families to support one. A priest goes into a school district in the townships and commands the few Catholic families to dissent and have a Separate School. The loss of their rates impairs the revenue of the old school, and, as time passes, whenever a farm comes for sale, by some unseen direction, a Catholic buyer is brought for it, so the revenue grows smaller until the point is reached that it is insufficient, and the school door closes for the last time.

It is different in towns and cities, where sufficient support can be got for both. In the country, where there can only be a limited number of families to the square mile, the man who establishes a Separate School does so with the design of breaking down the one in existence. In her invasion of the townships, Rome planned to destroy the schools of their founders, and she is killing them by the dozen.

The rule as to division of school taxes is, that they go according to the creed of the ratepayer. When it comes to the taxes levied on incorporated companies, this principle of allotment would require that they be divided according to the amount of stock owned by Catholic and Protestant shareholders. This is not done, a new rule is adopted, and the rates paid by companies are divided in proportion to the children in the municipality in which the factory or company is situated, and thus, while Catholic shareholders may be a negligible quantity, the lion's share of the company's tax goes to the Catholic schools. An estimate, prepared by one who investigated the subject, gives a million dollars yearly as the amount taken from Protestants for the support of Catholic schools. Of late there has been a rush of mercantile houses in Montreal to become incorporated companies, and

by the change the greater part of their school tax goes to the Catholic panel. It is within the truth to say that of the capital of these companies, nineteen-twentieths is that of Protestants. There are many companies composed exclusively of Protestants, the larger part of whose tax goes to Catholic schools. Plausible gentlemen in Parliament dwell on the fairness of allowing Catholics in the Northwest to retain their tax for support of Separate Schools: these same members uphold the law in Quebec which seizes the bulk of the tax levied on the real estate, incomes, and capital of Protestants to maintain schools taught by nuns and friars.

The air is full of plans to save the non-sectarian schools of the Protestant farmers of Quebec. Rescue the rates levied on Protestants for the support of Catholic schools, and place them in a general fund, and there will be no need to call for aid from the benevolent, or for an increased grant from the government.

The atmosphere thus created is not national, it is ecclesiastical: it is not French, it is Papal. It is a population trained by the Church of Rome to do the will and exalt the Church of Rome. True, the priests exhort the people to be French, and nothing but French. That is merely part of their system to keep them under their thumb. Were they of any other origin they would use the same cry—were they Irish they would tell them to be Irish and nothing else; were they Germans or Poles they would get like advice. In their speaking English, especially in their learning to read English, the priests see danger, and so they reiterate the precept that they are to be first Catholic then French, and that on their continuing to be Catholic depends their being French, and they are made to believe that the Church of Rome is the sole surety of their nationality and their language; that if they leave their Church they lose everything. No pains are spared to keep them isolated from Protestants. The partition-wall is maintained so high that practically there is no social intercourse, no intimate relation permitted. Here, again, the dividing-line is creed, not race, for if the English-speaking neighbor becomes Catholic, the priest encourages the freest intercourse.

The Church of Rome owns a third of the real estate of the city of Quebec, and, therefore, ought to be its largest taxpayer. It pays no tax, yet is insistent on being granted favors at the expense of those who do.

THE GREAT ISSUE.

Standing, whether in country or city, in presence of conditions so extraordinary, so utterly opposite to what prevail in every other Province of the Dominion, two questions press for answer:

1. How has this come about?

2. Is not the existence of such conditions in a Province that elects sixty-five members of the House of Commons a menace to the Dominion's continuing to be British in reality, and to its people enjoying free institutions?

No part of Mr. Sellar's book will surprise the reader more than pages 150 to 155. The quotations there given from the edicts and despatches of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. effectively dispose of the arrogant claims made by the priesthood that "they are only getting what they enjoyed under the kings of France." Take these extracts as specimens:

No public question can be more delicate than whether the parliament of Canada would be justified in overseeing convents, with the view of protecting their inmates and securing the public welfare. Ninety-nine out of every hundred would stand aghast at such proposed legislation; half our population would call it sacrilege. What did the French Kings think about regulating nuns and nunneries? Listen to what they said in despatches of the following dates:

May, 1671—In answer to the question respecting the vows to be taken by the Sisters of the Congregation de Ville Marie, and by Les Hospitaliers. It was not the King's intention in granting Letters Patent to these sisters to make real nuns of them. According to all authorities, and the practice in the first times of the Church, and to the royal statutes, the liberty of the King's subjects belonged to the King and not to the Church. The King can grant or refuse the founding of a religious community, the privilege of assuming vows, etc. His permission once granted, the religious authority alone has the right to judge as to whether the person asking to take such vows possesses the necessary disposition to find holiness therein. The daughters of La Congregation having been established to live a secular life only, cannot, without permission from the King, change their status and their rule of life by imposing upon themselves the obligation of taking vows, whether simple or solemn.

April 10, 1684—The King gives 500 livres, and sends out three women to teach the squaws to knit and spin. This money is not to be entrusted to the Ursulines.

May 5, 1700—To the bishop: Multiplicity of religious establishments has a bad effect. The King will tolerate the establishment of the Ursulines at Three Rivers, but will not give letters patent. Regrets to learn that, on his own authority, the bishop has taken Sisters from the Hotel Dieu, and given them the direction of the General Hospital. Must send them back to the Hotel Dieu, it being the wish of the King that his hospitals shall be governed by administrators under his own control. His Majesty will not allow the Sisters of the Hotel Dieu to

make a convent of the General Hospital. His Majesty sees with regret the multiplication of establishments for the religious of both sexes.

May 6, 1707—His Majesty desires to be more fully informed in relation to the establishment of the Sisters de la Congregation. In any case he is not to allow them to be cloistered, for then they would be a burden, instead of being useful. His Majesty is informed that The Hospitalers of Montreal take simple vows, wear a uniform habit, etc. They are to leave off the habit. Insists specially on the execution of his orders in this matter. Will not be pleased if he does not learn they are carried out to the letter. His Majesty is absolutely opposed to the hospital service being performed by persons wearing a uniform habit, and who have taken vows, whether simple or solemn, this being a charitable institution established for the relief of the public.

June 30, 1707—The King will continue his gratuity to the hospital, Montreal, but on the express condition that the persons in charge shall not take vows, shall have no statutes, no uniform habit, and shall not call themselves Brothers. Should they act otherwise, the establishment is to be suppressed.

July 12, 1707—His Majesty is quite willing to continue to grant to Les Hospitaliers of Montreal the gratuity he has heretofore allowed them, but they are not to take any vows, or wear uniform habits, or assume the name of Brothers. There are already too many communities and convents in Canada. If they do not observe and strictly adhere to these conditions they are to be dismissed.

Nov. 12, 1707—The King cannot permit the Sisters of La Congregation to be cloistered, their usefulness would be much impaired thereby.

February 12, 1748—His Majesty does not wish the General Hospital of Montreal to be turned into a community of women. There are already too many of them.

Royal Ordinance of 1743—No religious community shall exist or be formed without Royal permission and letters patent; the property such communities might hold was solely and exclusively that designated in the letters patent, and that it could not be added to either by gift, purchase or otherwise, without Royal Letters of permission.

NOTARIES ARE FORBIDDEN TO MAKE SUCH CONVEYANCES.

When the British took possession of Canada there were only four companies of nuns—those of the Hotel Dieu, of the Congregation, the Ursulines, the Hospitaliers; the total number about 150. Of male orders there were the Recollets, the Jesuits, the Seminarists, and the Hospitaliers, in all less than one hundred. The monastic system as found in Quebec to-day had no existence in New France.

Other quotations from these despatches follow to show the status

of the hierarchy under the Kings of France. Here are instructions from Louis XIV. to Frontenac:

April 16, 1676—You must with prudence take the necessary measures to prevent the ecclesiastical power from encroaching in any respect upon the temporal, which it is somewhat inclined to do.

Again, on Frontenac being sent back to serve a second term:

June 4, 1695—You must not permit the ecclesiastics to meddle with things temporal, nor must you fail to consult with them in private before exercising your authority; on the other hand, you must be very careful not to interfere in purely ecclesiastical matters.

After giving a series of quotations, their gist is summed up in these words:

In New France the King nominated its bishops, its deans, and canons, kept the priests subordinate to him by paying part of their salaries, erected parishes, regulated the religious communities, fixing their number, prescribing their vows, their duties, their dress, and exacted from their real estate taxes for local purposes. Over and above all, the interference of the clergy in civil affairs was sharply resented, and they were confined to their purely spiritual duties. The Kings of France wanted a Catholic Canada, but not a Papal one: ambitious of a French colony, the King was to be its supreme ruler, not the priesthood.

The status of the Church of Rome in Canada under the Kings of France is sharply contrasted with what it has become under the concessions of the politicians of the present day, for she now sits as a queen, dictating to our public men her desires, and, especially in Quebec, implicitly obeyed. Striking evidence of this is the growth of monastic institutions.

During the eighty years that Quebec was a Crown colony, the governors, from Murray to Colborne, gave no encouragement to monastic institutions, which became fewer, the male orders being suppressed with the exception of the Sulpicians and Seminarists. It was not until the union of Quebec with Ontario, when politicians competed for the support of the hierarchy, that representatives of foreign orders appeared in the lobbies of the legislature, claiming recognition, and receiving acts of incorporation, accompanied, not infrequently, with public assistance in some form. Thus it went on until Confederation, when a fresh impetus was given to the influx of monks and nuns. Of late years the action of the French Government in suppressing monastic institutions, has sent increased instalments, including several orders whose rule, in mortifying the body, is repugnant to humanity, from including practices of self-torture.

Since Confederation, acts of incorporation have been granted by the Quebec legislature to fully forty new orders of monks and nuns,

half the number since the new ecclesiastical laws began to be put into force in France. Twenty-five distinct orders of men, with over 3,000 members, have their headquarters in the Province of Quebec, and fifty-three of women, with considerably over ten thousand nuns. The number of convents and other monastic buildings exceeds six hundred. To this has to be added the scores of convents established in the Northwest, which are offshoots of the orders in Quebec, financed and officered by them, directed and controlled, and, no matter though thousands of miles away, are one with the parent society. These innocent-appearing convents and stations in the Northwest are little bits of Quebec. They are planted on the prairie or by sub-Arctic rivers in the expectation that they will lead to the reproduction of other Quebecs. To the members of monastic orders 2,400 priests have to be added, making a total approaching twenty thousand under vows. Adding novices and postulants would greatly swell that number.

Those who form an opinion of the Church of Rome in Quebec by what they know of it in Western Ontario are judging, by the freshly-planted and closely-trimmed sapling at their door, the full-grown tree in Quebec which they never saw. The attitude, the demeanor, the pretensions of the representatives of the Church of Rome in the two Provinces are widely different. Take, for instance, their relation to politics. In the other Provinces the priests, in a quiet way, influence their people: in Quebec they command. The assumption of supreme authority is the same in all the Provinces, but where Protestants are in the majority, it is concealed, it is veiled, it is left as a latent force to be called into activity when the time comes that will permit of its being brought into operation. In Quebec no prudential cause for reserve exists, the cloak is thrown aside, and the claim of the priesthood to supreme rule becomes active and absolute.

Here pause and take a comprehensive view of the situation in the Province of Quebec. Mark the great army of men and women who were taken from their families in their youth, and in seclusion from the outer world, prisoners to all intents and purposes, had their individuality obliterated and were disciplined into one mould. With that point reached, and fit for service, they are oath-bound to obey implicitly the commands of their superiors, who, with wealth beyond estimate, independent of law, with the Quebec legislature their creature, and the Federal Government standing in awe of them from their holding the balance of power in parliament, these superiors set about completing their design of becoming the controlling force in Canada.

Keeping it well in mind that it is not a French but a Papal Quebec with which the Dominion has to deal, let it be asked: What is this Papal Quebec, with its great army of monks, nuns and priests, doing? I have shown already, it is obtaining possession of the Eastern Town-

ships; that in them Protestants are fast melting away. Is that all? Will this great army be content with Quebec? The answer could be given in extracts from sermons and pastoral letters. It will save space to take the summary of one of the ablest Jesuits—Father Hamon:

"The French-Canadians in the United States will soon be too numerous and influential for any political party, whatever it might wish to do, to dare to dispute their privileges. . . . This will assure to the Roman Catholic Church a magnificent position in New England, which was the cradle, and remained for a great while the citadel of American Protestantism." Hear again what Father Hamon says:

"None of the obstacles met have checked the settlement of the valley of the Ottawa and of the Province of Ontario. And yet, for the French-Canadian, is not Ontario a country different from theirs, both in religion and language, and even in polities, in, at least, whatever relates to local interests? In spite of these difficulties, in spite of a tenacious English element, hostile to the invasion and seeking by all possible means to prevent it, the French-Canadian pushes toward the end for which he set out. The French-Canadians infiltrate themselves everywhere in those counties of Ontario which divide it from the Province of Quebec, and continue bravely to march toward the West. The policy of the Church is to guide the movement, plan and forward settlement, establish the parish system, the parochial school, and the religious and national societies; then, to watch and wait for providential developments, that she may mass and lead the people for the effective overthrow of Protestant error and paganism. . . . The French-Canadian race is God's chosen people to save North America and to restore its population to the bosom of the Church of Rome. Is this a dream? No, it is more: it is an every-day issue."

The great issue that has to be faced by Canada as a nation, an issue that cannot be evaded and the settlement of which will become imperative, is the disestablishment of the Church of Rome in Quebec. The issue is ecclesiastical. It is common to speak as if it were one of race, a misconception fostered by those whose interest it is to have the French-Canadian identify his cause with that of the bishops. The conventional talk about national characteristics needs modifying. The difference between the English and the French-speaking Canadian is not due to race, it is caused by conditions.

Give the English boy the same training in youth as the French boy, and reverse the position of the French boy, giving him an English training, and see how little race has to do with the traits we call national. Both peoples are essentially the same. That the French have been kept apart is due to those whose interest it is to hold them as their exclusive subjects. It is the black robes who stand between

kindred peoples. Their motive is apparent. In his text-book Father Hamon writes:

"The habitant cannot be changed so long as he retains his language; therefore French should be maintained as his sole means of communication, and so be preserved in his religion. Thus Protestant aggression, by use of the platform and press, will be powerless to disturb or pervert their faith. In their language is the conservation of their religion."

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Are you who read these lines convinced that a Papal Quebec is a menace to your rights as a British subject, a drag on the development of Canada as a self-governing country? If you are, act on that conviction. When you have a ballot to cast, why be misled by party names and party cries?

PUSHING OUT THE BRITISH.

To scout the statement that an organized effort is on foot to transform Canada's government, to leave it constitutional forms and possibly British names, but bring it under subjection to the Papal idea, is to go in the face of palpable evidence both in word and deed. Had any one fifty years ago said the day would come when the Eastern Townships would cease to be English-speaking, he would have been laughed at. Where are the once flourishing settlements of Protestants in Quebec north of the St. Lawrence? What has become of the Protestants of the city of Quebec? What of the triumphal march of the Church of Rome up the Ottawa to Lake Nipissing? What of Ontario itself? Are not the counties of Prescott and Russell more a part of Quebec than of Ontario?

Mark the revolution going on in Glengarry. Here is a county settled by Scottish Highlanders, whose stalwart progeny have held it intact until within the past twenty-five years. The beginning of its conquest aroused no suspicion. The French-Canadian came as a hired man, then he rented a farm, then bought it. Farm after farm went the same way. When there were more French children at the school than English it became a school with a French teacher. In the capital of Glengarry, the once centre of Gaelic and of Highland sentiment, the French have a church of their own, and the Separate Schools have four times the attendance of the Public School. It is with the Highland Catholics of Glengarry as with the Irish Catholics of Ottawa, Montreal and the Townships, they are very good in their way, but for accomplishing the Papal design they are thrust aside for French-speaking Catholics. No flaunting of banners, no crash of music, accompanies the invasion. It is silent, steady, persistent, and ever-sweeping westward. The Highlander is being conquered, pushed from the soil his

fathers cleared, his churches dwindling, his schools turned into instruments to drive him away. When the conquest of Glengarry is substantially completed that county will be made the base for another advance. Already a skirmish-line has made its appearance in Stormont.

'Are we who call ourselves Britons, whose hearts' desire is to see British institutions flourish on the free soil of Canada, going to cower before the onward sweep of this host whose end is to establish Papal sovereignty? Shall the knowledge daunt us that the leaders who are directing the campaign have behind them a large Province with a population obedient to their orders, that they have a disciplined body of men and women under vows that numbers over twenty thousand, that they have wealth at their command to be counted by millions of dollars, that they have a contingent of members at Ottawa who vote as required? Shall the Papal power continue to grow, and British power to decline? The call of patriotism is to make a stand on behalf of British institutions, and to make it at once. Shall Canada be a land of equal rights, or shall it have a privileged class with its Government subservient to that class? Which is it to be? It lies with those who are loyal to British institutions to decide.

Events have transpired since Mr. Sellar's book was published which help to emphasize the points he made. On March 18th, 1910, Sir Wilfrid Laurier was waited upon by a deputation named by the recent French-Canadian Congress of Ontario. The deputation, which was introduced by Senator Belcourt, presented the resolutions adopted by the Congress, which, among other things, called for representation of the French-Canadians of Ontario in the Senate and on the High Court Bench. Sir Wilfrid was asked to consider that, although there are over 300,000 French-Canadians in Ontario, there is no French-speaking judge on the High Court Bench and only one French-Canadian Senator. There should be at least one more French-Canadian Senator and a representative of "the race" on the bench, it was urged.

Previously, on January 18th, a resolution to be presented to the Minister of Education of the Province of Ontario, asking that the Public School Act may be amended to provide for a bi-lingual educational system in all the Public Schools throughout the Province, from the primary classes to the normal, was passed at the evening session of the Ontario Congress of French-Canadians.

Complaint is made also, that in Eastern Ontario, in cases where Protestants and Roman Catholics have been married, priests have interfered and virtually said that couples have been living in sin, because they had not been married according to the rites of the Church of Rome. This is only following up the audacious act of a high ecclesiastic in the Province of Quebec, who went so far as to annul a "mixed" marriage at which a Protestant minister had officiated.

If the Church of Rome has the right to dictate to civil courts by reason of Acts of Legislature passed in years gone by, it is high time that such laws should be modified. The following resolution passed by the Anglican Synod must meet with the approval of right-thinking people: "That whereas the differences in provincial law with reference to the question of marriage have tended to some confusion, and have in the Province of Quebec, where marriages between Roman Catholics and non-Roman Catholics have been dissolved, both by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, on other than statutory grounds, given rise to a grave condition of things, subversive of the sacredness of the marriage bond, therefore, be it resolved that, in the judgment of this house, measures should be taken, as soon as practicable, to secure the unification of marriage laws of the whole Dominion by an appeal at the proper time to the Dominion Parliament for this purpose."

One important event in the history of Quebec, Mr. Sellar has not dwelt on, but which ought to be mentioned as affording a glimpse of the under-current of life and thought among the habitants which is not without hope, namely, the uprising of the people against the hierarchy in the Dominion elections of 1896. The bishops strenuously opposed the Liberals led by Laurier; but, in spite of the influence of the Church, the Province returned a large majority against the Conservatives. Much as "*Jean Baptiste*" reverences his priest, he could not resist the dazzling prospect of a French-Canadian becoming Premier of the Dominion, and he cast his ballot accordingly. This shows that a little of the old Gallician leaven remains in his composition, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that he may yet, of his own accord, break off his ecclesiastical fetters.

Unfortunately, Laurier did not follow up his advantage. Instead of reaping the fruits of his victory by setting to work to curb the power of the Church, he made matters still worse by appealing to the Pope, craving that he should send a representative to Canada to help to keep the bishops in order.

Since that time we have had a Falconio, a Sbaretti, and a Stagni encamped beside the government at Ottawa, to make sure that the legislation of our Parliament shall harmonize with the will of the Vatican. The bishop of Three Rivers, if an ultramontane "*bleu*," is at least a Canadian and cannot be wholly destitute of patriotism. But the Italian ablegate avowedly represents the Pope alone.

The attitude of the French Roman Catholic members of Parliament towards the British Empire, as revealed in the discussion of the naval policy of the government of Canada, was somewhat significant. The word "*autonomy*" was much on their lips. There was far from that clear ring of resolute attachment to the British Crown which characterized the speeches in general of the English-speaking members.

And there is room for suspicion that there is a lurking idea of independence in the minds of some of the Quebec politicians. Fathers Braun and Harmon, the great Jesuit preachers, have publicly advocated the formation of a French-Canadian republic, embracing the Province of Quebec together with a large slice of Eastern Ontario and those New England States which they hope to see dominated by their fellow-countrymen in the near future.

Is this the dream which is cherished by those who speak of autonomy? Of course it is an idle dream. Ontario and the Western Provinces would re-conquer Quebec rather than submit to have an alien power astride the St. Lawrence, cutting them off from the sea; but it is as well that the rest of the people of Canada should know that such a proposal has been formulated.

At all events, the policy of the Church of Rome in Canada is to extend itself throughout the Dominion, so as to hold the balance of power, and dictate the character of the country's legislation. The Church of Rome will, of course, try to plant itself in those Provinces; but she failed to control Manitoba, where she had the start in influence and power, and she is not likely to succeed better in the other Western Provinces.

A GENERAL VIEW OF PAPAL QUEBEC.

Rid yourself of all theological notions. Look at the Church of Rome in Quebec, not as the repository of certain religious doctrines, but in her civil aspect, as a complete and perfect society. Drop for the moment your conception of the bishops and their assistants as clergymen, and regard them as statesmen, who are fired by a conception (before which Imperialism pales) of establishing the Papal authority above that of Local and Federal legislatures for the governing of the people. The Church of Rome in her true character, as we find her at work in Quebec, aiming to control the Dominion, has to be met and shorn of her power. The instinct of self-preservation demands that—it is not intolerance to insist upon it.

The people of the other Provinces are familiar with the Church of Rome as a religious system, but if they wish to know what she is as a temporal ruler they must come to Quebec and study her here. On doing so they will discover (1) that Rome means a system of schools that do not fit its youth to act their part in a self-governing country. (2) It means the enthronement of a force above that of the civil power, whose commands are to be obeyed before those of parliament or crown. (3) It means suppression of free speech and of a free press. Not even those Montreal papers who boast of immense circulations and great resources would dare to advocate views different from those the clergy favor on education, law, or government, for their proprietors know they would

be brought to their knees before the archbishop by the threat of their papers being placed under the ban. Were a public man to advocate non-sectarian schools, to urge it was high time for Frenchmen to repudiate Italian domination, to point to monastic orders as an incubus on prosperity, he would be doomed; every constituency would be barred against him. Vainly thinking they are free, they are in reality in thrall, for they place the exercise of the highest gifts of God—freedom of thought, of speech, of action—under the direction of a fellow-creature. (4) It means a rule above that of the Crown. When the bishops come before the legislature they do not prefer their requests as subjects, but as superior beings, who come with an authority which laymen must obey.

The A, B, C of liberty is the equality of all subjects, and the sovereignty of the popular will as expressed by a free assembly. To acknowledge that a certain cluster of individuals soar above the great body of their fellows, are of another type and quality, that they are the God-appointed pilots to indicate how the Ship of State is to be steered, is to pierce the heart of constitutional government. If Canada is to continue to be a nation of free men, it is necessary alike to demand that all interference by these clerics cease, and to repudiate the claim on which they base their pretension to interfere. It intensifies, though it does not affect the merits of the situation, that these clerics assume their airs of superiority because of an office bestowed by a foreign power, and that, too, a power repudiated by the majority of our people.

Apart from every other consideration, a government influenced by the agents of the Vatican would not be a free government. What sense in boasting of our freedom, in holding up our constitution for other British dependencies to copy, when the controlling power is of foreign inspiration? The British North America Act had to be approved by the Pope before Quebec would accept Confederation. The constitutions of Saskatchewan and Alberta were drafted to suit his representative at Ottawa? The sovereign will of the people has to be vindicated in Canada—the battle of our fathers against ecclesiastical usurpation has to be decided on the virgin soil of Canada.

It is vexatious, it is passing strange, that difficulties peculiar to continental Europe should embarrass the development of British institutions in our Dominion. The origin of the difficulty is apparent. A bit of medieval Europe, plucked from its native soil, was planted on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and is now vigorous enough to overshadow our country. Is it possible that Canada can be dragged under the influence of three centuries that are past and gone? It would not be possible, did the electors recognize the situation, but when it is considered how the leaders of both our political parties pander to the bishops for their

support, how our history is a record of concession after concession made to them, how our Northwest is being dotted with colonies of foreigners—hordes from Austria-Hungary, Poland, Italy, notorious for their subserviency to Rome—he who ardently desires to see Canada British in deed as well as in name has solid grounds for the fear that a day may come when, like the governments of Europe in the past, like that of Quebec at this hour, its real rulers will be ecclesiastics.

The forms, names, and procedure of British constitutionalism go for nothing when its spirit has fled. The bishops can rule as effectively from behind a screen of governors and premiers, senators and members, as ever did Richelieu or Mazarin in their princely ostentation. The danger-centre of the Dominion is Quebec. A French Quebec, free in thought and action, would be no menace to the Dominion; a Papal Quebec is, for it stands for a power that is not working for the common good, but for a Church; which is not seeking to exalt our country by strengthening its unity, binding man to man in the bonds of common interests and of a common brotherhood, but it is scheming to keep them asunder, to set race against race, and, by every art and means within its reach, to obtain more influence, more power for an organization of ecclesiastics who draw their inspiration from a foreign country and a foreign court.

REMEDIES MUST BE FOUND.

Are free-born Britons expected to submit for ever to the obnoxious state of affairs which has just been shown to exist in a British dependency? Whether an agitation may be required or not, in order to bring about a remedy for the evils complained of, a demand for redress is to be reasonably counted upon, and it will be fully justified—first, because it will not seek to set aside any treaty right or just legislation, and, secondly, because some of the laws, as they stand, are contrary to British fair-play and the spirit of the constitution. For example: they place one religious organization above all others, whereas, according to the constitution, no church is entitled to a legal preference.

An enlightened people in these days will not long submit to these pretensions. At any rate, unjust laws can always be changed. No community is required to be governed for ever by obsolete statutes, which may have been enacted in past ages when conditions and requirements were different from those of the present time. The laws of any civilized country at a given period represent the will of the people at that time. No human law is binding on a people for all time. Therefore, any law which has become unjust and unsuitable to modern requirements may be repealed or modified without injustice, so that it may conform to the needs of modern society. In other words, laws may be changed with the times.

WISDOM IN USING THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

Although friendly feeling exists individually among many French-Canadians, of the better classes, toward their English-speaking neighbors, yet a sort of estrangement from the British has lingered with the French ever since the conquest. This, on the side of the French, has been kept alive and encouraged by designing men, who have not the good sense to accept the situation and forget the dead past, which they have no power to change, and try to make the best of existing conditions. On the contrary, they prefer to cherish an un-Christian race-hatred towards those who should not be blamed because some of their forefathers conquered at Quebec.

They cannot deny that the English-speaking people are good enough citizens to co-operate with in business and general citizenship; yet they hold back. They have had daily experience of them long enough to admit that there does not seem to be anything wrong with their religion. Only the other day, Archbishop Bruchesi, of Montreal, said that, from his own observation, he had come to love the Protestants. Now that was an honest and manly expression from one of themselves, who is far above the average.

The British people are noted, above all others, for their love of justice and fair-play, of which their treatment of the French-Canadians is the best proof, and yet the latter, from Sir Wilfrid Laurier to the ordinary habitant, have been schooled into the idea that they must cherish a suppressed antagonism against their English-speaking fellow-countrymen, alongside whom they must live all their days. They must avoid speaking English, except when absolutely necessary, and confine themselves, as much as possible, to French.

Some of the expedients of the more bigoted for maintaining the use of their own language are simply silly—for example, to ignore an invitation because it is not written in French, or for a certain member of the Quebec Legislature to refuse to travel by one of our railways because its passage tickets were printed in English. This was too serious a matter to be allowed to drop, and he insisted that the tickets be done in French, and kept on agitating the matter until the railway company, at some unnecessary expense, yielded the point. This was a most patriotic service and of vast importance, which had resulted in a great victory in favour of the French language, and consequently had increased the popularity of this member of the Legislature among his compatriots.

TWO LANGUAGES AT THE POST-OFFICE.

At the Ottawa post-office the names engraved on the brass plates over the slips must needs be duplicated, although it was not supposed that

anybody would fail to understand them in English. The words for "Letters," "Journals," "Great Britain," etc., are much alike in both languages, but the "race" must have justice and all that is due to it must be exacted to the letter, even in the matter of spelling "Lettres."†

GREAT ADVANTAGE OF UNION.

Notwithstanding the different origins of the two peoples who form the population of the Province of Quebec, it is obvious that the true policy of both is to "pull together," or to unite as far as possible. The opposite course is manifestly contrary to common-sense and to the best interests of both elements. It is suicidal. The advocates of this narrow policy should be regarded as enemies and mischief-makers by both sides and not as patriots in any sense.

The Church in Quebec would, therefore, confer a boon on its own people by advocating, instead of denouncing, the use of the English language. Besides, it would be a wise course to accept cheerfully the inevitable. No isolated people has ever been allowed to stand long in the way of the world's progress, and no good can be accomplished by endeavouring to do so.

It is to be hoped that the French-Canadians will come to consider their position in a calm and conciliatory spirit, and that they will realize there is no use in trying to punish us, of British origin, for a past condition, for which we are not responsible; also that they are now following a narrow and mistaken course, and that it would be greatly to their advantage to do as the people of Great Britain have done. When the Scotch and the English came to realize that they would be obliged to live always on the same island and that fighting each other continually was very unprofitable to both, they, very sensibly, resolved to "change all that" and to unite for their common good. A true and lasting partnership was then formed, which has been faithfully carried on ever since, to the great benefit of both nations.

A portion of the Scotch people whose tongue differed from the rest, voluntarily adopted the English language, as a matter of loyalty to the union. At the present day there is no virtue attached to clinging to a language for the sake of being out of harmony with the surrounding peoples, thereby impeding trade, general intercourse and closer union.

†On the 17th of the present month (May, 1911), a striking example occurred at Vercheres, P. Q., showing how the foolish hatred of the English language is encouraged. The whole population of the parish, marched to the post-office carrying banners and singing French songs, took down the sign "Post-Office" and substituted for it another bearing "Bureau de Poste." In this unpatriotic small business they were enthusiastically encouraged by the clergy.



